MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

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U. S. GOVERNMENT RAIDS "MAN!" AND JAILS EDITOR

On Wednesday October 6, 1937, as I was about to enter the house where I resided, four plain-clothes men, claiming to be immigration agents, surrounded me. Without as much as showing me a warrant of arrest they commanded me to go along with them. As I was coatless, I attempted to enter my room. But before opening the door I asked if they had a search warrant. Their reply was, by pouncing upon me, seizing forcibly my hands and placing handcuffs on them, as they seized my keys and zipper-handbag in which I had the current mail of MAN!. I was marched handcuffed to a machine, acompanied by two law-badge holders. The other two, who had the keys and the zipper-bag, remained in order to carry out a most despicable illegal raid and thievery of correspondence, articles, poems, and of everything that belonged to MAN!, and to me personally.

Paraded in handcuffs I was marched for several blocks to the Immigration headquarters. One of the four badge-thugs who helped to handcuff me, called in a stenographer and opened an "official "hearing. I refused to reply on any question. Then the creature who aided in my seizure, and according to the practice of the secret-star-chamber proceedings of the immigration department, takes the right to act as sole interrogator and judge—without allowing the public or press to be present, informed me of my "right" to be released on a one thousand dollar bond. The thief-thugs then began to forcibly photograph me and to take four finger-print sets, afterwards being taken by them to the County jail. (This too was an illegal move and total disregard of the anti-alien law, which is a civil but not criminal procedure. Procedures of the Immigration Department against any alien proscribe that he should be detained at an immigration centre, such as there is at San Pedro, only a few miles from Los Angeles, but not in a jail.)

At the County jail I was again finger-printed, given a mattress and bedding, and forced to sleep for eight nights on a bare floor in a cell with cots for only two. My request for any non-meat food that may be on hand in the kitchen was ignored. Naturally I was actually starved, since as a vegetarian for 26 years I would not change just because I am imprisoned.

On Monday October 11th, I was taken to a "hearing" before the same thug, a Mr. Handerson, who had seized me. The attorney, Jack Greenberg, who came to act in my behalf demanded a continuance of four weeks in order to give him an opportunity to become acquainted with the details of the case. The interrogator-judge declined to grant any continuance at all. The Chief of the Immigration bureau was then called in. Both "badge" holders explained that the Government is reopening the case of 1919 when it had ordered me deported to Canada, but were unable to do so, since I refused to aid them in having myself deported. Now, they contended, they expected to obtain a Court order that would force me to aid in having the authorities deport me. After much wrangling a continuance of two weeks was given, with October 27th as the set day for the hearing. I was then returned to the county jail.

On Thursday night, October the 14th, I was finally released on a thousand dollar bond—which release was made possible by various friends, well known authors, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

On Wednesday October the 20th, when A. L. Wirin, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, demanded of the Immigration Chief Inspector, a Mr. Shaw, to show the warrant upon which I was arrested and kept in jail for eight days, he admitted that there was not in existence any kind of a warrant calling for my arrest! All that he could show, was an order of deportation to Canada—dated November 18, 1919! If this was not a sufficient vicious flaunting of the "law" by its sworn upholders, then the thug-inspector, Mr. Henderson, brazenly admitted before his "Chief" that without any search warrant his associate thugs broke into my room and carried out their theft-raid!

In the name of the law I was illegally seized and jailed and face now deportation to Canada. And in the name of the law my room was broken into, robbing me and the collaborators and readers of MAN! of manuscripts and correspondence that they had entrusted to me as editor of MAN!.

If there still remained any person who held any doubt as to the fullest justification for the anarchist's disbelief in any man-made laws that are entrusted to the State, the above striking examples of a total disregard of every conception of "constitutional rights"—by the very servants of the State—ought to eradicate completely all such doubt.

The ordeals of one fighting for Justice and Freedom close to two decades are worth relating in brief:

My first arrest occurred in April 1919 at Paterson, N. J. A suitcase containing anarchist literature was the evidence upon which I was detained for two weeks at the local County jail and thence removed for another two weeks stay at Ellis Island, and subsequently released on a one thousand dollar bond.

For several years I was left alone, presumably to see as to whether I would change my social views on the present system of rule of man over man in the interest of exploitation. Instead of weakening in my social views, I became more convinced of their soundness and justification. So, one day, on February 21st I was seized for a second time by badge-thugs of the New York Bomb squad whilst doing research work in the main library of New York City. After a brutal and horrifying third degree ordeal that lasted for 24 hours I was removed to Ellis Island. This time I was held for fully six months. Every star-chamber "hearing" ended in the same deadlock, my refusing to help the tormentors—to deport me.

A decision, in a similar case as that of mine, of a man without a country, who was likewise held for six months on Ellis Island declared, that six months is sufficient time in which the immigration department should be in a position to deport an alien or give him back his freedom. Thereupon the authorities released me, and returned the bond.

Again I was left alone for a number of years—until July 1930 when an immigration "badge" holder discovered that I carried with me two copies of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" that I had compiled and edited. For two weeks I was held at the city jails of Yuma, Arizona, El Centro and Los Angeles, Cal., and one night at the San Pedro Immigration Detention place. Again I was released on a one-thousand dollar bond.

This time, the charge was a trumped-up accusation that I visited Mexico and therefore subject to deportation to that country. Anything was considered by the authorities as permissible so long as it would succeed to rid this "glorious land of the free and the brave" of one lone individual who dared to question this excellent, but seemingly meaningless, sounding phrase. Thanks to an aroused nation-wide protest by well known authors, this new charge was dismissed in November, 1930.

The year of 1933 found me as the editor of this journal, and on October 6th of this year I found myself still being hounded, persecuted and jailed, for a fourth time, on exactly the same "accusation" of more than eighteen years standing!

Any humiliation, degradation or physical punishment that the U. S. authorities have been inflicting upon me as an individual cannot make me feel humiliated or degraded. It is my tormentors and those who remain indifferent or silent about such outrageous misdeeds and the flaunting of every conception of "civil rights" that are proscribed in the U.S. Constitution,—it is all these that should be made to feel, as eventually they will be,—ashamed and degraded.

The latest seizure by the Government of myself, as editor of this journal, of mail and manuscripts belonging to MAN!—is but the culmination of a close to four years of most sinister, vicious, cowardly and shameless series of acts by the U.S. authorities in their attempt to stifle the voice of this journal, thereby delivering a deadly blow to the "freedom of the press" concept that some believe still prevails in this so-called "great democracy."

In the early part of 1934, immigration authorities seized Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto, owners of a restaurant at Oakland, Cal., where I had rented space for an office of MAN!. Charges of being alien anarchists were brought against them, with excerpts from articles in MAN! as the chief evidence in the secret star chamber proceedings. Illegal searches were made in my office and property broken up. Illegal searches were also executed in the house of the accused. One of the agents who arrested the two men, tried and convicted them. Today they face exile to Italy where death or imprisonment awaits them.

But the arrest of Ferrero and Sallitto was not all that the authorities perpetrated so as to stifle our voice. In various parts of the country readers of MAN! were asked to visit the immigration offices. There they were questioned for hours as to what interest or personal acquaintenship they may have with the editor of MAN!, and also shown photographs of the latter for identification and warned to desist from further reading such a "dangerous" journal as MAN!. (This was done despite the proscribed right of any alien to subscribe to and read even an anarchist journal.)

Such methods of intimidation and terrorization surpasses even that commonly employed by blackmailers!

In all the eighteen years of my encounters with authorities, I, nor Ferrero and Sallitto nor any collaborator or reader of MAN! has been brought before a public court on any singular criminal charge. This fact alone damns every one of the authorities' misdeeds as contemptible beyond any expression of words, and proves conclusively that the authorities are bent upon destroying this journal in a round-about way.

Strange as it may appear, the U. S. Senate Civil Liberties Committees that is traveling around the country investigating the disregarding, flaunting and breaking of every civil right that the authorities are sworn to uphold—has so far—not made the least endeavor to investigate to close to four years of persecution that MAN! has been undergoing, or that of eighteen years that I have. (The Chairman of this Committee, Senator La Follette, is undoubtedly aware of these ordeals because they were fully related in his own magazine "The Progressive" in 1934.)

Today it is "MAN!", an anarchist journal, that faces extinction, by the direct and indirect misdeeds that the authorities have and are perpetrating. Tomorrow it will no doubt be any other independent voice of the press whose opinion the authorities may consider as inimical to its reign in behalf of the present system of exploitation.

If the stifling of the voice of MAN! is allowed to take place, the freedom of the press, that part of it that truly believes in exercising the rights implied by that term, will receive a death-blow, that will in turn affect every sincere liberal and radical publication of the country.

The fate of this journal ought therefore to immediately become the concern of everyone that holds dear the right of freedom of thought, the freedom of speech and the freeeom of the press.

The La Follette Senate Civil Liberties Investigation Committee should be made to prove its right of existence by immediately opening an investigation into all the foul methods and disregard for every civil right that has been inflicted upon readers of MAN!, upon Ferrero and Sallitto, and now upon MAN! and its editor. The U.S. Solicitor at Washington should, likewise, be made to feel in no uncertain terms that their misdeeds are not only resented, but will be fought as the most vicious attack upon the freedom of the press in America—since the last world war hysteria reign of Palmer.

The ringing voice of protest must begin to resound in every corner of the land. Freedom of the Press Shall Prevail At any Cost! The hounding, jailing and persecution of men and women believing and practicing Freedom of Thought must cease!

The widespread campaign of deportation proceedings that the Government is carrying on today against any alien exercising the rights of freedom of thought, and in particular, the despicable methods employed against this journal—and now the jailing of its editor—become a challenge to every believer in the very basic conception of freedom upon which this country has been founded.

This challenge should be met and resisted—as it fully deserves—Today.

Tomorrow it will prove too late!

MAN!

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE SPEAKS OUT

According to a telegram received by the Ferrero Sallitto Defense Conference from Washington, D. C., a protest against the threatened deportation of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto, two legal residents of the United States, has been delivered to the Secretary of Labor personally by a delegation headed by Mrs. Louis F. Post and composed of Mrs. A. J. McKelway, former Washington president of the National League of Women Voters; Mr. Allan Davis; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph McKenzie; Katherine Aubrey, a grand-daughter of Secretary of State Forsyth and Mercer G. Johnston.

The protest, which calls for the cancellation of the deportation order against Ferrero and Sallitto, has been signed by one hundred prominent writers and professors. Asserting that ours is a democratic form of government where the right to free thought, free speech and free assembly is guaranteed to the people by the Constitution, and that the violation of civil rights by foreign tyrants is despised by our people and our press, the protest asks: "Why, then, does our Government prosecute and find it justifiable to banish people from the United States on charges purely political, not involving the commission of any overt act?"

Stating that Sallitto, a legal resident of the United States for 16 years and father of an American-born child whose mother is deceased, has been ordered deported on unfounded charges of being a member of an "organization which believes in, advises, advocates . . . the overthrow of the United States by force and violence"; that Ferrero, also a legal resident for 31 years, is being deported for his past association with a philosophical Italian anarchist publication long out of existence; and that neither of these men has committed any crime during their long residence in the country, the protest continues:

"In accordance with the most sacred American traditions, no laws punishing persons with banishment for political beliefs should be in the statutes of the United States . . ."

"Deportation is a cruel punishment, and it would be doubly cruel to deport these two anti-Fascists to Italy. The privilege of voluntary departure accorded in cases of this nature does not solve the problem because of the impossibility of securing permission to enter a country other than Italy."

"In habeas corpus proceedings the courts do not review the findings and conclusion of the Department on the facts, and this settled policy leaves the fate of these non-citizens in deportation proceedings entirely to your Department. You have discretionary power in interpreting and applying the law. We, therefore, urge you to exercise that power to restore to every individual in these United States the right to think and speak freely, to cancel the deportation order against Domenick Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero."

"You have ample precedent: from the refusal of Secretary Marcy to surrender Alexander Koszta to the Austrian government to the commendable act of Assistant Secretary Louis F. Post who in 1920 cancelled the order of deportation against Enrique Florez Magon who would have been shot if deported to Mexico."

The names of those who signed the protest follow: Newton Arvin, Prof. Edward S. Allen, Oscar Ameringer, Katherine Aubrey, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Louise Bogan, Haward Brubaker, Prof. Edwin M. Borchard, Van Wyk Brooks, Kenneth Burke, Witter Bynner, Alice Stone Blackwell, Dr. George H. Bradford, Prof. S. H. Brockmier, Prof. N. G. Bergman, Prof. George S. Counts, John Chamberlain, Coleman B. Cheney, Robert M. Coates, Countee Cullen, Clarence Darrow, Prof. John Dewey, George Dillon, Prof. Paul H. Douglas, W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Lydia Allen De Vilbiss, Prof. Karl R. Douglass, Max Eastman, Prof. Selba Eldrige, Prof. Walter Prichard Eaton, Prof. Guido Ferrando, Vardis Fisher, Martha Foley, Waldc Frank, Sara Bard Field, Mary Fox, Prof. Edward A. Fuhlbruegge, Arthur Garfield Hays, Granville Hicks, Frank Ernest Hill, Alfred H. Hirsh, Langston Hughes, Prof. Royal C. Hall, Louis C. Hunter, Alvin S. Johnson, Mathew Josephson, Mercer G. Johnston, Elsie G. Jones, Rockwell Kent, Manuel Komroff, Joseph Wood Krutch, Freda Kerchwey, Sinclair Lewis, Ludwig Lore, Prof. Horace A. Eaton, Margaret Marshall, Daniel Gregory Mason, Walter Millis, Bruce Minton, Elizabeth C. F. Morris, Prof. G. Megaro, Lewis Mumford, William McFee, Bishop Francis McConnell, Reinhold Niebuhr, John G. Neihardt, Walter Pach, Dorothy Parker, Paul Rosenfeld, James Rorty, Constance B. Rourke, Vida D. Scudder, Lee Simonson, Upton Sinclair, George Seldes, Robert Morss Lovett, George H. Soule, Ruth Suckow, Prof. Lawrence A. Sears, Ida Tarbell, Mildred Terry, Katherine Terrill, Ridgely Torrence, Norman Thomas, Louis Untermyer, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mary Heaton Vorse, Prof. James M. Williams, Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Webb Waldron, John Hall Wheelock, William C. Williams, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Helen Woodward, Thornton N. Wilder, and Art Young.

Ferrero and Sallitto were arrested in Oakland, California, in April 1934. Their cases have been appealed a number of times and are now waiting final disposition by the Department of Labor. Meanwhile the two men are at liberty under bail bond posted by the Dressmakers' joint Board of New York. If deported to Italy, as anti-Fascists, the two men might face either long imprisonment or possible death.

IF ARRESTED

1. *Always remember that Immigration Inspectors have absolutely no power to compel you to answer any of their questions.*
2. *Refuse to answer all questions—anywhere—in jail, at home, in organization headquarters, on the street—except your name until you have seen an attorney.*
3. *Give no address, place of employment, the country you come from, when you arrived, the name of the ship or the date when you came.*
4. *Don't sign anything. Don't be fooled into answering questions by an inspector who says he is trying to help you.*
5. *Deportation hearings are held in private. No workers are present. The only people in the room are commissioners, stenographers, the defendant and the lawyer. Everything you say is secret. Don't try to propagandize the officials at these hearings.*
6. *Always remember the Department of Labor must prove that you can be deported. They cannot get a visa to any country unless they prove you are a citizen of that country. Don't give them any free information. It will be used against you.*
7. *Always remember the Department of Labor still has not the right of arrest without warrant. If an inspector tells you to come along with him, demand that he show you his warrant. The same applies if he tries to search your home. He must have a warrant.*

Answer no questions. Don't sign anything.

(LABOR DEFENDER)

Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee Formed

The Southern California Branch of The American Civil Liberties Union, supported by a proviso Committee of local well known liberals, artists and authors, has just issued the formal call for enlarging the erstwhile formed Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee into a nation-wide organization, inviting editors, authors and artists throughout the country to join the Committee as honorary members.

The American Civil Liberties Union has undertaken to contest through the federal courts the re-opening of an eighteen year-old attempt to deport Marcus Graham as well as working for a dismissal of the whole renewed proceedings and the old deportation order against him. It will also contest the illegality of the persecution directed against MAN! by the illegal seizure of property belonging to it as well as the illegal arrest of its editor, Marcus Graham, and the threatened attempt to force him in testifying against himself. It will also maintain his rightful position not to answer any questions except at a public hearing.

Every one wishing to aid in the work of this Committee, morally as well as materially should address everything to the:

Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee
The American Civil Liberties Union
129 West Second Street, Los Angeles, Cal.

CRIME MARCHES ON

Across the pages of the daily press—the same press whose very existence is conditional to the degree to which it dips its paper into the black well of falsehood, blackmail, intrigue and crime—the blaring headline is spread out very conspicuously and with an insistent repetition these days: *Crime Marches On!*

The pages are heavily laden with provoking details and particulars about an imposing array of crimes whose variety vies with the colors of the rainbow. Crimes for personal gains, crimes brewed by the lower instincts of jealousy, by an inconceivable sexual perversion, by the inexplicable morbidity of a decayed and degenerate mind, by misery and desperation or by adverse and unbearable circumstances. And each one of them receives its ration of sensational display and prominence in the pages of a heartless press, with a systematic richness of particulars worthy of a better cause. When the presentation and the "journalistic" exploitaion of one of these crimes, are over — just as it is happening these days—we are given, as a conclusive chapter of the saddening story, the blaring but inconclusive statement that "Crime marches on!"

That crime marches on is an indisputable fact, but why does it march on? Where are the causes and responsibilities to be found? The exploitation of crime and in many instances manufacturing—of sensational news through the revolting and disgusting description—particulars on the part of the daily press is criminal. It is criminal and inducive to other crimes. The task of any publication true to the educational principle of journalism should be that of examining and analyzing causes and effects and pointing out a rational and honest solution of the problem. But from a press which is the natural product of a society which—based and organized on privilege, injustice and exploitation—is itself criminal, the only thing to be expected is a masterful provocation of morbid curiosity which will help increase circulation.

Crime marches on! Husband kills wife! Sexual pervert rapes and kills child! Drunken driver hits and kidnaps woman! Crime marches on, crime marches on!

Who has molded the distorted, befuddled, moronic mind of the husband who resorts to murder when confronted with the distressing impossibility of solving his family problems?

Who has promoted the process of mental and physical disintegration which has stamped the stigma of cruelty, viciousness and degeneration on the souless individuality of the sexual pervert?

Who has driven the disinherited miserable wretch to seek an imitation of security by means of fraud, theft robbery and murder after a nerve-steadying dosage of alcohol?

The inexorable finger of logic points unerringly to ward society—our present-day civilized society which has run, and continues to run, without other restraint than affected and artificial face-saving respectability, the gamut of criminality. We point our finger to society whose very structure rests upon foundations of might, privilege, injustice and exploitation. Men are born, with negligible exceptions, physically and mentally sound. At birth they might have tendencies and predispositions to evil, but it is society that nurtures and allows these tendencies to develop beyond cure or control.

Crime marches on! But look whence it springs. Look into the past, look into the present and see how the church has bound and is trying to bind man's reason—preserve a fading spark of humaneness which have brutified all noble and natural qualities of man. It has made of him a weakling relying upon a mythical supernatural being, for the solution of his family and social problems, whose lot it is to be meek and resigned to an unbearable exploitation on earth in order to gain the marvelous reward of heaven in the sky. And when the society-made trials of this man become unbearable, when the promised supernatural solution fails to come, is there any wonder that he resorts to crime?

Come to the slums, look for a while at the unkempt mob, at the swarming vermin of humanity. They had courage, muscles, a soul, a character, an individuality of their own. Far deep in the bottomless pit of their forgotten selves they might still—unwittingly as it may seem—preserve a fading spark of humaneneness which could be kindled into a sufficient flame of redemption. But what is society doing to them? It overcrowds them into horrible lightless, disease-spreading, filthy and congested fire-traps; it hounds them with fear, subjection, abuses, misery and hunger; it deprives them of all moral and spiritual enjoyments, of security, education, happiness, trust, affection and love. Is it then, any wonder that when they have reached the point of degeneration or of desperation, in the face of injustice and abuse, they tragically resort to degrading, drinking, to moral and sexual perversion?

Listen to the ominous rumble of the lifeless army of industrial automatons—addicts to an individuality-killing drudgery, slaves to and inseparable parts of an industrial machinery which, while killing every spark of initiative and humanity in them, remorselessly robs all. At the mercy of a huge cast of political and economic bandits, they are exploited, betrayed, cheated, marketed, maltreated abused and butchered. Is it any wonder, then, that, confronted with a reigning cast of defrauding politicians, silk-hat robbers and uniformed butchers, they resort to secking an imitation of security by means of fraud, theft and murder?

Oh, no, we are neither advocating, preaching nor justifying crime. We are trying to understand, to analylze , to explain. Crime marches on. But there are causes for this terrible march. These causes are deeply ingrained in the system of society which by an endless chain of crimes is forced upon humanity. Society as it is—functioning upon foundations of exploitation, privilege and crime—is the arch criminal to be eliminated.

Drastic laws, repressive measures, appeals to Providence will fail miserably where the structure of a criminal society will remain as a hellish yoke upon himanity. When we shall have succeeded in bringing about a new society conceived in freedom and equality for all, where man will be free to express and exert his own personality with no limitation other than the liberty of his fellow human beings, then the march of crime—from which the arch-criminal soicety and its humble serf, the yellow press, affect to be overawed—will stop forever. There is no other way.

Walter Brooks

TO MY FELLOW YOUTHS—WHEREVER YOU ARE

You must realize that you are the eternal fountain of life. You personify the spring of the year with its eternal beauty, its budding blossoms; you personify the loveliness of summer, the buds which have blossomed into magnificently odorous flowers; you personify the richness of the autumn harvests which have absorbed all the nature of Mother Nature; you personify the vigor and briskness of winter in all its whiteness and purity. Nature has endowed you with all these virtues—strength vigor, ambition, hope and intelligence. You are the great pillars on which the burdens of the future will be placed. You are tomorrow's men and women who must carry on and solve the great problems of life.

The fact is that probably you do not realize this. But those who rule you most certainly do. And that is why they are aiming to prepare you to solve the problems of life as they see fit. That is why your employers are trying to keep you as much as possible in submission—so that you will be "good" slaves in the future. That is why the capitalists are depriving you of work and of daily needs—so that you will ultimately resign yourself to poverty and want.

If you read the papers—and most certainly you read the bourgeois press—you will say that the world is going topsy-turvy. But that is not the word for it. You will have to conclude that the dictators and kings, the presidents and premiers are simply playing their never-ending game of exploitation with the lives of human beings at stake.

* * *

For the last few weeks the papers have carried blaring headlines about the war between China and Japan. People are being killed, children are being torn from their parents, homes and buildings are destroyed. All for what? Is it because the rulers of the two countries involved want to make conditions better for the people? Is it because they want to give the people what has been denied them through centuries of toil and submission? No. They are interested in the people only to the extent that they give their lives "for their country." To them the people is merely a large herd of livestock to be slaughtered and butchered by the knives of tyranny and power. The aim of the rulers is greater wealth, greater power. The pages of history show that no ruler has ever given the people anything. *What they—the people—may have they have taken themselves. And they have very little.*

For the last year some of you may have heard that the people of Spain are fighting against the fascists. Yes, that is true to a certain extent. They are fighting against the fascists. Who are the fascists? They are the Mussolinis and the Hitlers. They are the ones who have crushed the people of Italy for fourteen years—crushed them morally to the point where they can do or say nothing, for Mussolini does and says all. Many of you may have parents who come from Italy. No doubt, you have often heard them speak of the beauties of this land. We have known it as the land of sunshine, laughter and song; we have known it as the land of art, the land of Dante and Da Vinci; we have known it as the land of the Renaissance, the rebirth in learning. But all the beauty and richness of Italy has been darkened by the black mantle of fascism and has been crushed by the iron will of one tyrant. He has crushed a population to the point where Italy—once the bosom of culture and learning—has now become a dead country. He has gone so far as to put children of eight years of age in military training. He is the man—the fanatic—who is sending thousands of Italian boys to Spain to kill other boys and girls whom they do not know and whom they do not want to kill. He has called them volunteers, but has forced them to go to Spain.

* * *

A moment ago I said that the people of Spain are fighting against fascism. Yes, the people did not start the war, if war you can call it. It was started on July 19, 1936, by the fascists under the leadership of a Francisco Franco. And the people of Spain responded. They—like all the disinherited and the oppressed of the world—had endured too long the sufferings meted out to them by the rulers. So they were determined—as they are today—to crush the fascists and also to fight for something more beautiful. They have called it Social Revolution. Perhaps the term may frighten you, but what they are fighting for is this: They know that they, like all workers, have always worked hard and have produced a great amount of wealth which has gone to a certain few who are the rich capitalists. They know—by the law of human nature—that every man has an equal right to the wealth of a community so long as he helps in he production of this wealth and so long as he is physically and mentally able to help. Why should a few of the people have more than they can consume and the rest not have enough to satisfy their daily needs? Have the rich worked harder than the poor? No. You will find that it is always the poor man who has dug ditches and built bridges, who has built the beautiful cars for the rich to ride in. And you will always find that the rich have all the opportunities for learning and education while the poor have neither the time nor the means for educating themselves. So the greater mass of the people of Spain, inspired by the ideal of anarchism, are determined to fight for a society which is based on freedom, equality and justice, where there is no authority. They are fighting for Social Revolution that will usher in the dawn of Anarchy.

Some of you may ask: Who are the people of Spain? Why should they be fighting for so much? They are the workers—the real people—who have labored and suffered, who have toiled and starved, who have seen the rich enjoy what they have produced. They are the workers of Catalonia who—after a few days of fighting—were able to crush fascism once and for all from that territory and who were able to put the wheels of industy and progress again into motion. They are the workers of Irun who, when they saw the city going in the hands of the fascists, preferred to leave it in flames. They are the miners of Andalusia who, with calloused hands, are steadily pointing the gun toward the enemy. They are the mothers of Spain who are fighting by the side of their husbands—mothers who see their own children shot down by the black hands of the fascists but who still go on with courage and determination. They are the youth of Spain who have chosen to fight for freedom. Yes, they also want to be free. They want to live as men, as human beings should live. They want equality, justice and freedom for themselves and for all. That is why the people of Spain—and especially the libertarian youth of Spain—are appealing to the youth of the world. They want you to realize that they are fighting for something worthwhile. That is why they go on—starving, without food and clothes—but they go on just the same because they feel that the rest of the world will listen and fight by their side, even at a distance of thousands of miles. The people of Spain are surrounded by the bombshells and bombardments of the enemy; they are being flooded by the blood of human lives. But they are determined to keep on fighting, for they have kindled the fire which will ultimately spread throughout the world and will be the sole redeemer of mankind.

* * *

All this talk about events which are taking place in other countries may sound foreign to your ears. Many of you must be saying: "Why should we worry about Spain or China? We are living in the United States. This is a free country where we can do what we please. The United States is not interested in the wars of other countries."

Your school teachers have often said to you: This is the land of the free. You have all heard of and probably read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The former document tells us that we are all born free and equal; the latter tells us that we have the right to freedom and speech, press and assembly. The trouble is that we remember what is contained in the document while the rulers have forgotten all about them and have concocted volumes of laws which violate every principle of equality and freedom for which our forefathers were supposed to have fought.

And you need only read the daily papers to learn this fact. You cannot deny that the unemployment problem in this country is still unsolved. Many of you know this through personal experience. You may have prepared yourselves for a profession. After spending twelve or sixteen years in school, you were given a diploma—and now you are part of the long line of the unemployed. What have the rulers done about this? First they gave you relief. They have humiliated you to the point where you must beg for charity while you have an education and are willing to work. Then they no longer gave you relief. They made you part of the Civil Conservation Corps. Yes, they have militarized you. They are preparing you for the next war where you will have to fight—not as the youth of Spain are fighting—but in order to make the world safe for fascism. Now they are solving the unemployment problem by deporting aliens—men and women who have spent the best years of their lives in this country, who have made homes and families here, who have contributed to the wealth of the country. Now that they are no longer needed they are told to get out—so that the unemployment problem will be solved. *The rulers cannot solve this or any of our problems. We must solve them ourselves.*

You may think that this country is not interested in the wars of other countries. But you are mistaken. It is interested to the point where it has refused to help furnish arms for the loyalist government of Spain. It is interested to the point where it manufactures arms and ammunition which are sold to Italy and Germany and then turned over to the fascists in Spain to kill those who are fighting for freedom. And right now this country is, supposedly, interested to see China win, but at the same time closes its eyes to the fact that Wall Street's loans are actually helping Japan to finance its war of conquest against China.

And they speak of freedom and equality in this country!

* * *

You may wonder what all this has to do with Anarchism. It does because the Anarchist is the one who—in some form or other—is fighting and inspiring others to fight against all this tyranny. He is doing this in Spain and wherever he can. Oh, yes, you may have heard the word at one time or other during the school days. Your teacher may have even told you that Anarchism represents chaos and disorder, violence. You may have been told that the anarchists are "reds," bomb-throwers, bandits. But you were not told the truth. In reality, anarchism differs from any other ism in that it wants the complete abolishment of any and all forms of authority. It aims at the setting up of a society in which people will live as free happy beings bound only by the freedom of the next fellow. The Anarchists say: "To each according to his needs and from each according to his abilities." They are fighting for real freedom that you read about in the history of the United States. They are fighing for real justice—not the justice practised in the courts of this country. They are fighting for real equality—and not the equality which gives a Ford or Rockefeller millions of dollars and your parents not enough to buy your daily bread.

The Anarchists are not bomb-throwers any more than are the agents of the government who are daily concocting new makes of war machinery to kill the people. The Anarchists are not violent, for there is no greater violence than that practised by this or any other government. Nor are they bandits. They are *men* who want to live as *men* and who fight for what they want.

And that they fight for this freedom even at the cost of their lives is an established fact. The Anarchist represents the man of courage, firm in his determination, unpliable as iron—erect against all obstacles. He is the man who can die as well as live; he dies for life. He is part of that chain of strength and courage made of links of sacrifices and courageous deeds. He is the Saccos and Vanzettis, the Mooneys and Billings, the people of Spain—the countless number of real courageous men who will not give up their ideas and ideals even to the point of death.

* * *

And it is because there is so much to learn from Anarchism that I am calling to you—the youth—especially those of you who have been frightened by this word. To you I say, as emphatically as can be said, that if these words have created in your minds a desire to learn the truth, I feel I will have been well rewarded. I can say no more. The rest is up to you. It is you who must learn the facts, for it is you who must know the facts in order to be able in facing the problems of life in our present system of society.

You must learn the beauties of thinking and of thought itself.

You must learn, for you are the men of tomorrow and, as Shelly—a great English poet, an Anarchist—said:

Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep hath fallen on you—
Ye are many, they are few.

Ray Randall

And the glorification of State and discipline, at which Church and University, the press and political parties work, is so well preached that even revolutionists dare not look this fetish straight in the face.

—PETER KROPOTKIN.

SCULPINS

The wrath of class is slowly kindling,
Your haughty power is slowly dwindling;
And, oh, how terrible that day
When man demands his right of way.

I see him shaking off his chains,
I see him rubbing, striking at his brains;
I see him fumble with the gate
That binds him to his fate.

And like a Hercules in strength,
He bends and breaks the bars full length;
Flood waters now are running high
Remember that it will not pass you by.

With a cyclone's force she'll sweep it all,
And carry you far beyond the fall;
I hear it now as plain as day—
The roaring flood which sweeps it all away.

I see its victims' agonizing faces,
Some cursing, others saying graces;
But on and on the flood is rushing,
You, too, will yet be mad and cursing.

Let curses come and floods run high,
We know the grand day is coming by;
We fear not flood, nor curse, nor cold,
Oppression sure will make us bold.

With clinching fists and strong right hands
We'll cleanse for all time every land;
Authoritarians, you shall flee—beware,
I hear the march of workers who do and dare.

A. V. Verden

AFTER TWENTY YEARS OF BOLSHEVIK

Industrialization and Wages

It is a curious paradox that the Soviet regime, whose central position from the outset has been equality and abolition of distinction of wealth, birth or class, now shows sharper and more widesperad inequalities than any country in the world . . . It is no less true of individuals, especially industrial workers, and it is becoming more generalized among peasants as agricultural mechanization develops . . . And this is the first year of the Stalinist Constitution, whose middle name is equality of man with man and men with women.—WALTER DURANTY, Moscow Correspondent of **The New York Times**, issue of Sept. 26, 1937.

* * *

Faced with discontent and inertia on the part of large bodies of workers, the Soviet Regime has had to fix the blame on leaders and conspirators, for a proletarian State cannot admit that it is having trouble with the masses for whom it was theoretically created and to whom it owes its existence. Prices are fantastically high and wages pitifully low.

The national economic plan for the U.S.S.R. printed in the Gosplan in 1937 states that the average yearly wage for all Russians in 1936 including white-collar workers, artists, etc., was 2,770 rubles. This means 231 rubles a month, at the official rate of exchange of rubles is worth less than 20 cents, so 231 rubles would be about $46. But a ruble is worth much less than 20 cents in purchasing power. Its buying value in Russia is about 5 or 6 cents, as measured in world prices. What the average Russian workman gets in real money is between $12 and $14.

A pound of coffee in Moscow today costs 24 rubles, or nearly $5. Sugar to sweeten the coffee comes cheaper at 40 cents a pound. A cut of beef costs about $1.30 a pound. Pork chops are just above $1 a pound. Butter is $2 per pound. Eggs at the moment of writing are two for $1, cheese $2.50 a pound and milk 32 cents a quart. Russians with a taste for luxuries such as milk chocolate can indulge themselves at an outlay of $4.50 a pound.

An ordinary suit of clothes costs $110; a passable overcoat comes to $280 and the cheapest are about $100. Woolen underwear, ((not always available) comes to $28 a suit. Men's shoes are priced from $35 to $48 a pair.

An ordinary unskilled laborer will get as little as 150 rubles a month, which is a usual wage. A writer or an actor may earn 10,000 or 15,000 a month, or more. An especially skilled and quick mechanic will be paid several thousand rubles a month. Shock brigade workers in the mass industries will get ten or twenty times as much as slower and less efficient laborers.

You will see ragged boys and men looking longingly into bakery shop windows . . . on the same street you will visit a restaurant crowded with Russians tossing out fistfuls of greasy bills in payment for champagne."—WILLIAM F. McDERMOTT, Visiting Correspondent in **The New York Times**, Aug. 29, 1937.

* * *

Communist party leaders in Moscow have found it necessary to organize a nation-wide campaign to terminate abusive and illegal treatment of peasants by petty Communist officials. The success of the collective agricultural system, which subjects all peasants to close and effective official control, depends in each district upon the good will and efficiency of the local officials who administer the system.

For several years the Communist dictatorship has sought to obtain peasant support. With that end in view, it has compromised with its own foundamentals since 1934 by permitting a degree of private enterprise among peasants, allowing them to work private plots of land, to possess their own domestic animals and to sell surplus products in free markets.

In return for these privileges, the peasants must pay taxes and rents in cash and products. They must sell to the state for nominal prices a portion of each crop and of the products obtained from each animal. These portions are fixed in central offices, with due regard for fertility of land and other factors.—Moscow corespondent of **The Christian Science Monitor**, issue of Aug. 18, 1937.

* * *

In scope of inequality in the payment of labor, the Soviet Union has not only caught up, but far surpasses the capitalist countries . . . classic methods of exploitation . . . such naked and crude forms as would not be permitted even by reformist trade unions in bourgeois countries . . . The prisons, the remote corners of Siberia and Central Asia, the fast multeplying concentration camps, contain the flower of the Bolshevik party, the most sturdy and true.—LEON TROTSKY in "The Revolution Betrayed."

MAN!

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MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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MISSING

The reader will find no "In Retrospect of Current Events"—the editorial page feature ofMAN! —in this issue. It is missing for the plain reason that the Government-thugs who seized and jailed the editor on October the 6th, afterwards illegally broke into his room and stole whatever manuscripts correspondence and property belonging to MAN! they found there. Included in this pilfering were also the editorials prepared for the present issue.

Freedom of Thought

The spirit which is today held to be counter-revolutionary is the same spirit, which first broke through the half-rotten damn of the old Tzarist world . . . Now that the revolution has triumphed, now that it has stabilized and moderated, now that it is beginning to come to terms . . . those whom the revolutionary ferment still animates and who consider all successive concessions to be compromises become troublesome, are reproved and suppressed . . . What is wanted is compliance, conformism . . . What is most astounding is that the attempt is successful. On the other hand, the smallest protest, the least criticism, is liable to the severest penalties, and in fact, is immediately stifled.

To suppress the opposition in a State, or even to prevent it from declaring itself, from showing itself in the light of the day, is a very serious thing; an invitation to terrorism . . .

But in the presence of such impoverishment, who could still dare to speak of "culture"? The accusation of formalism was leveled at any artist who was capable of attaching less importance to content than to reform. Let me add at once that no content is considered worthy of interest (or to be more accurate, is tolerable) unless it is inclined in a certain direction . . . That it may have been useful politically is possible, but then stop talking of culture. Culture is in danger when criticism is not free . . . If the mind is obliged to obey a word of command, it can at any rate feel that it is not free. But if it has been so manipulated beforehand that it obeys without even waiting for the word of command, it loses even the consciousness of its enslavement. I believe that many young Soviet citizens would be greatly astonished if they were told that they had no liberty of thought, and would vehemently deny it.—**ANDRE GIDE** in **"Return from the U.S.S.R., 1937."**

* * *

The 1936-37 theatrical season in Soviet Russia has been less productive than any other in years. Regisseurs and dramatists alike have been slow in adjusting themselves to a regime of mere severe political supervision, instituted by the Kremlin's Committee on Arts, created in 1935 and given enlarged powers in 1936.

This Communist committee actually controls the leading theaters of Moscow and Leningrad, and exercises general supervision over all Soviet theaters. It has complete powers of censorship, and determines whether or not any production meets political standards fixed by itself. The Committee apparently has not yet clearly determined its own standards; although it scrutinizes all productions in rehearsal, it ordered several plays to be taken off this year after a few performances.

The committee ordered the Vakhatangoff Theater to remove V. Kirshon's "Great Day," whose enthusiastic reception by critics and public had indicated a long run. After dress rehearsals, it fobarde the Maly Theater to present Afinegenov's "Hail Spain." After three performances, it canceled the Kamerny Theater's revival of Borodin's light opera, "Bogatyrs" ("Titans"), with a new libretto by Demyan Bedny, which had been lavishly mounted and was favorably reviewed.

Comtemporary dramatists almost completely failed to satisfy the Committee; one of the few plays permitted was a naive melodrama, "The Dream," written by an Arctic aviator and presented on the day he reached the North Pole. This amateur effort naturally could not be criticized by professional standards.

It is a curious situation. Communists have subsidized dramatic and musical theaters far more widely than the Tsars did. Royalties for dramatists and composers have been fixed so high that the most successful have become the "richest" persons in Russia. The demand for new plays is so great that theater managers will accept any script to please the Art Committee.—DEMAREE BESS, Moscow Corresp. of **The Christian Science Monitor.** Issue of July 6, 1937.

* * *

The Ordeal of the Opposition

But the questions we ask are: How is it possible to achieve a true Socialist order under conditions depriving the people of all intellectual and political liberty? How is it possible to build Socialism with human beings who are forbidden to speak their own minds, who must conform to the commands of a whip and who are deprived of free access to any thought or ideas except those prescribed by the dictatorship? What becomes of the Socialist principle that the emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves? Is it possible to build Socialism upon oppression, hypocricy, slavery? Is it possible to build a higher social order upon such foundations? Are enslavement of the masses and absolute dominance of rulers the proper methods for the development of a new Socialist generation? Are such methods likely to develop in the masses of the people those conceptions of human solidarity and free enthusiasm, of human love and co-operation without which a society of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity must be an empty dream?—RAFAEL ABRAMOWITSCH, in **The Maryland Leader**, May 16, 1936.

* * *

One cannot trust their courts; one doubts their confessions; one steels oneself against their propaganda . . . English socialists who had worked for a united front at home and a common international policy on that basis . . . look out after these executions on ruins . . . a friend of mine by drawing on the English press alone, had counted 600 executions—one has to realize that in a land where loyal opposition is impossible, there can be neither stability nor health.—H. N. BRAILSFORD in **The New Republic**, July 28, 1937.

* * *

This is indeed a trial against the enemies of the International proletariat. . . . This was a trial of the triumph of socialism.—SENDER GARLIN, Moscow Correspondent in **The Sunday Worker**, Feb. 7, 1937.

* * *

Many of these men had been willing to serve time in jail for the cause of Communism or to die for it. They felt, according to this theory, that genuine Communism had been betrayed by the course of events in Russia . . . All the arrests, demonstrations, according to this theory, are fundamentally the result of a breakdown in the production machinery and an unrest among the workers that touches the core of th esystem . . . The Stakhanoff system had its origin in the Don coal mines. It may be significant that the most grievous and widespread labor troubles is being experienced in these same mines.—WILLIAM F. McDERMOTT, visiting Correspondent, in **The New York Times**, Aug. 22, 1937.

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The January conspiracy trial in Moscow marked an end of an era in Soviet Russia and the beginning of another. The 20 years since the revolution might be described as the "Bolshevik Era", the stage into which the country now enters might be called the Era of the Social Patriot . . . The January trial proved that few, if any, of these men really abandoned their ideas or their hatred for Josef Stalin. The humiliation he visited upon them even after they have recanted, burned deeply in their souls . . . Prevented from fighting openly for their ideas and for position, they sank their preyious differences in a common hatred for the head of the state, and conspired to overthrow him. Mr. Stalin is likely to depend for support upon his own close associates, younger party members who have not been "infected" by his Bolshevik opponents, and upon members of the old aristocracy and "bourgeoise" who preferred Josef Stalin to his more fanatical opponents.—Moscow Correspondent in **The Chrsitian Science Monitor**, March 30, 1937.

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Half an hour by motorcar beyond Moscow's city limits to the north, east and south, one has seen recently great construction camps, deep excavations, hundreds of men and women digging and hauling dirt, mixing and placing cement, serving powerful machines. Here and there among these active laborers sit uniformed guards, with rifles across their knees. For these men and women are prisoners, and for 5 years they have been building the Moscow-Volga Canal, which is now opened to traffic as of May 1.—Moscow correspondent of **The Christian Science Monitor**, Issue of May 3, 1937.

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Between 200,000 and 350,000 Soviet citizens have been exiled for political offenses during the last year. This estimate is based upon figures cited in the annual report of Communist Party chairmen in various regions of the country, which have been published since the Communist conspiracy trial of August, 1936. The Bolshevik exile system is much more firmly organized than the old slip-shod system of the Tsars, and escapes are very few. Moreover, the Soviet frontiers are closely guarded and the number of Russians who escape abroad, whether under arrest or at liberty, is negligible. Many of those recently exiled also experienced exile under the Tsarist reign. Today, as in the past, they realize that nonconformity is a crime in Russia.—Moscow correspondent of **The Christian Science Monitor**, Issue of Aug. 10, 1937.

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Soviet school children are being recruited as volunteer police agents to assist the political police . . . They are being urged to watch and report even their own fathers and mothers.—Moscow Correspondent of **The Christian Science Monitor**, Issue of Sept. 24. 1937.

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It is possible that it will be another hundred years befor all the actual facts about the recent Soviet trial will be known.—**The Nation**, Feb. 6, 1937.

The Nation adopts an attitude of Olympian impartiallity, and proceeds by implication to endorse, or at least condone the whole questionable procedure . . . If liberal journalism has any function it is that of clear analysis and fair judgment.—SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE in **The Nation** of Feb. 13, 1937.

If so many prominent persons in so many important fields of endeavor, and scattered so widely over the nation, are guilty of treason, it is obvious that existing rulers and existing constitutions do not command all the loyalty and inspire all the confidence . . . A nation shot through with espionage and suspicion . . . is one in which not much real progress can be made . . . But if now, after twenty years, plots and counter-plots still dominate the scene, a chilling influence is bound to be exerted on all those who expected something better . . ."—**The New Republic**, June 23, 1937.

RULERSHIP -- A SYMPOSIUM

* * *

I venture to prophesy that the latest murders will deprive multitudes of all hope that anything worthwhile will come out of this extraordinary adventure in human government.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD in **The Baltimore Sun**, Feb. 18, 1937.

* * *

They were able to comouflage, able to conceal their real sentiments and views. They were double-dealing and deceiving. Now they all confess this. . . . This is simply a gang of criminals who are simply agents of the foreign Intelligence Service.—ANDREI VISHINSKY, prosecutor in nearly all the trials as quoted in the **Western Worker**. Feb. 8, 1937.

* * *

To my mind there is not a hope for the classless society in present-day Russia . , . such a back-jump to the complete temper of education under Tsarism—spiritual prison uniforms, political surveillance . . . a reorganization of the army . . . restoration of the titles, ranks, and privileges of officers, and revival of the uniforms and special rights of the cossak troops . . .the death penalty for theft . . one blushes almost to recall that according to Marxian theory the state as an "instrument of compulsion" was supposed to "die away with the triumph of socialism," and this was to begin the very moment the industries of a country were socialized . . . you can not say that politically the battle for socialism is "definitely won in USSR," you must say, if you are talking straight facts, that the battle is definitely lost. The power has passed irrevocably from the workers' and peasants' organizations to a bureaucracy . . The real state under Stalin's constitution is still to be the Communist party . . . what is the "secret ballot" when only one party can run candidates for office, and that is the party in power? What is "free press and assemblage?" when no man can form, advocate, or support the platform of any but the gang in power, and when ten to twenty thousands that have done so are in jail or exile while you talk about it? When our recently Marxefied liberals come home after a brief tour of the Soviet telling us how well "socialism works" in Russia, they are really only telling us that life there is radically not different for people of their class from what it is here . . .When a government which is running the industries and employing the labor of a country takes loans from people who have excess income, and pays those people 7 per cent interest on the loans, then those people are not only receiving unearned income, but they are recieving surplus value derived from the exploitation of the country's labor. The recent trial of old Bolsheviks ought to make this clear. They are the bloody punctuation of a twelve-year period of counter-revolution (Eastman excluded the Lenin period-reign, evaluating it as the counter-part of the Stalin-reign.—Editor, MAN!)— . . . They mean that the experiments in socialism in Russia are at an end—MAX EASTMAN in **Harper's** February, 1937.

* * *

Dictatorship and the "Withering State"

"Basically Russia's ills may better be attributed to the principles according to which the Soviet regime is attempting to shape her development . . . Infidelity and heresy are the blackest of crimes because they threaten the very foundation of the State . . . That requires an army of spies . . . "As soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, then the State as such ceases to exist," wrote Engels . . . Communist writers are exceedingly vague about the duration of this dictatorial transitional period, but from the vantage point of twenty years' experience that goal has receded beyond the horizon and is even seldom thought of in Moscow . . . The print of Karl Marx's own character is strong on the Soviet regime. Marx quarreled with friends and collaborators and was apt to regard a divergent view as a crime . . . It is that way in Russia today.—HAROLD DENNY, Moscow Correspondent of the **New York Times**, issue of Sept. 19, 1937.

Lenin is said to have believed that when the period of counter-revolution and reconstruction had passed, the strong ruthless, arrogant and suspicious machinery of the State would be abolished, decentralization could begin . . . But recent history has shown that the notion of the State as a force greater than the individual is an end in itself, infallible and unquestionable in its authority, is one difficult to destoy. . . . The machine is relentless and rapacious. The law is never satisfied. It dominates at last the very men who have created it as a means of dominating or disciplining their fellows. —GEORGE F. SLOCOMBE in "The Tumult and the Shouting."

For there can be only a dictatorship over the proletariat by a minority. And this minority . . . whose final interests are by no means those of the workers. A dictatorship is not the best means for its own dissolution in the service of a socialist or any other society. Alas, it is not the dictatorial state that "withers". . . . What withers is the original revolutionary leadership and the revolutionay enthusiasm of the masses. —BENJAMIN STOLBERG in **The Nation**, April 10, 1937.

THE LESSON OF MARXISM'S TRIUMPH

It was in the October Revolution of twenty years ago that the voice of the people in Russia resounded throughout the world with an indisputable clarity that left no doubt as to its great social significance. No longer were officials of the Czarist regime speaking in the name of the people as all government officials are so often presuming to do. Nor was it the liberal Government of Miliukov, that followed the Czarist one, that was speaking. Neither was it the Kerensky Socialist officialdom, which followed the Miliukov one, that was being heard.

It was no government officials at all that began to speak in that memorable October month. Every form of Government was dead and buried. The people had enough of Government to not desire to replace the three successive ones with a new one. Henceforth, the people had a real voice through which to speak—the Soviets of Workers and Peasants, Soldiers and Sailors.

Every declaration of this new force, unmatched in history, descended as a thunderbolt amidst the exploiters and rulers of the world. Consternation and fear betook every human shark. Their very existence was being menaced by a force that did not want to know or hear of any compromise with the enemies of Justice and Liberty.

This new challenging force aroused and inspired the millions of oppressed in every corner of the globe. Each move of the Soviets was greeted by these millions and hailed as a step nearer the Dawn of the Day of Humanity's Liberation from all its social and political fetters. Revolution was in the air everywhere. It even reached the most authoritarian ridden country in the world—Germany.

All this spectacle, inspiring to every lover of liberty,was not, however, to last very long.

Among the Soviets were working Socialists and Socialist Revolutionaries, Bolsheviks and Anarchists—each attempting to influence the Soviets in following their programs and ideas. This alone would not have hurt the Soviets. It would, on the contrary, have only aided them in experimenting, learning and finding out the most imperative lessons and means for the building of the New Free Society.

Excepting the Anarchists, the three Socialist schools within the Soviets were aiming at something totally different: to bring back to life in place of the erstwhile destroyed Kerensky Government, themselves as the newly enthroned rulers. The more each of these last-named three factions succeeded in gaining influence over the Soviets, the less and less became in turn the influence of the Anarchists.

This struggle to supersede and capture the reign of and over the Soviets was finally achieved by the extreme Marxian Socialists, the Bolsheviks, who at once regaled themselves as the Government over the Russian People.

It didn't take long before the Soviets became but a fictitious name in the life of the Russian people. Instead of building a society without exploiters and rulers of any form, a new regime came to reign and subjugate the people of Russia—the Bolshevik Government. The peasant country that could feed and cloth itself, as no other country in Europe can, by the use of the simplest of tools, was to undergo the experimentation of the dead decrees set down by Karl Marx: *that only when the proletariat and peasantry is completely industrialized can they attain economic liberty.*

For years the Bolshevik Government has carried on its Marxian experiment upon the people of Russia. It can now point with pride to its unquestionable success. The city and village, and nearly the whole peasantry has by now been industrialized. Marx's dream has become a reality.

But how and with what benefit has all this been achieved as far as the Social and Political freedom of the people within Russia are concerned?

* * *

The most formidable answer is to be found in the symposium presented on these pages. It is not the answer given by Anarchists. It is the one expressed, principally, by yesterday's allies and avowedly open friends of the reigning regime of Russia, as well as by impartial observing correspondents.

All the fears and ill-forebodings that the Anarchist held out, as a theory, against the political socialists have come true with a vengeance. It is not the Anarchist that has to point of finger of accusation at his step-brother, the Socialist. The world-wide disillusion among the socialists of the world is doing that.

The vindication of the Anarchist position toward the State is fulfilled by the very triumphant capturing and complete control of the State by the most revolutionary socialist followers of Karl Marx. After a twenty years reign—many sincere Socialists are realizing this, although, regretfully, they fail as yet to draw logical conclusions therefrom. Even these disillusioned ones still think that a Stalin is to blame, and that a Kerensky or Trotsky would and could have acted different. None of the disillusioned ones have as yet begun to realize that it was *marxism serving as a guide for the most simon-pure marxians of Russia that is at fault.* and not the individuals who were guided by it.

* * *

That famous phrase that Engels has let once drop about the "withering" away of the State, and which Lenin repeated, assumes today the appearance of a preposterous joke—in the face of followers of Engels, themselves having established after twenty years' reign—*the most totalitarian State that the world has ever witnessed.*

Industrialization and centralization are twin brothers. One cannot exist without the other. Both of these became the aspiring armageddon of the Socialist State in Russia.

And with what result?

The Taylorist-Ford method of drawing out from the workers every ounce of energy, found its counterpart in the Stakhanoff movement in Russia. To the average worker it resulted in either striving for favoritism, higher remuneration, superiority over the fellow-worker, or becoming disillusioned. So much has this been so that even party men began to feel and see the evil of this inequality that was being bred. These began to question the whole system. It is here where Centralization, via the bureaucracy it always raises within its own fold, came to the fore: it began to crush the dissenting voices by the methods of the prison, the exile and the firing squad. And it is still doing it today, more so than ever before. If party men are meted out such treatment with what safety could the ordinary human being in Russia be expected to dare in questioning anything that the central leaders of the States ordain?

One need not deny for one moment that the aim of all those who have been at the helm of the State in Russia for the last twenty years has been the establishing of a Socialist society. But in admitting this fact one cannot tho, close one's eyes to the other fact that *the methods that the Socialist State has employed* (and according to the Anarchist no Socialist State could have acted any different)—*has opened every window to the identical evils that the October revolution of twenty years ago had cast out through the doors.*

The Marxian State, after a twenty years' existence, has demonstrated to the world's oppressed how a social revolution can be contravened, undermined, led astray, —and all its original objectives—annihilated. It likewise furnished many-fold lessons for the oppressed of the world.

First of these lessons is: the State can never serve as an instrument fbr building a free society. On the contrary, whenever a trully free society is being built the spy and the policeman, the judge and the jailer, the bureaucrat and the crook—this whole paraphernalia that constitutes the State apparatus—can have no raison d'etre.

Second, no social revolution can be worthy of its name if it fails to usher in the widest sort of tolerance, respect and comradship among the ideological diverse forces that aided, in conjunction with the masses, in making possible any such upheaval. Hatred, as brought on by the Socialist State in Russia, cannot hold out any hope for the success of a social revolution, and especially when such hatred could not be avoided in being transplanted the world over, as has happened for the last twenty years.

Third, experimentation, the welcoming right of any idea to be tried out in practice, subject to the approval of any given group of people, should, at all times, be the only guide by which the achievements of the new society is to be adjusted as progressing or regressing.

* * *

Marxian socialism has triumphed in Russia. *But in its very triumph it has met its test and been found wanting, as far as the building up of a free society is concerned.*

The Anarchist ideology has nowhere as yet been put to a test. And whenever and wherever it will, it is destined to succeed. For, the anarchist ideology contends, that: *the Free Society of Tomorrow must have its inception on that very moment when any social upheaval has begun, and that its methods must be one that offers the widest latitudes of freedom, tolerance and experimentation in every sphere of life.*

Marcus Graham

The modern radical is a centralizer, a State partisan, a Jacobin to the core. And the Socialist follows in his footsteps. Like the Florentines at the end of the fifteenth century, who could only invoke the dictatorship of the State, to save them from patricians, the Socialists know only how to invoke the same gods, the same dictatorship and the same State, to save us from the abominations of an economic system, created by that very State.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

WHAT COMPENSATION!

Comrade Ethel MacDonald, co-worker of Guy Aldred, Glasgow, Scotland, has undergone a most shameful mistreatment at the hands of the ruling powers of Catalonia. She came to Spain,volunteering her serivces in what she believed was a huge struggle of the people of Spain against the fascist mercenaries fighting in behalf of the erstwhile discarded Money and Church Sharks. She was the one who was broadcasting daily in English over the CNT radio station. But no sooner did the Government forces come out victorious in the May-Day Instigation Uprising against the real revolutionary forces, than Comrade MacDonald found herself jailed for several weeks and finally deported to France!

As all the valiant fighters for justice throughout the world—the ordeals Comrade MacDonald has unedrgone—will only strengthen her powers of resistance to every form of oppression, including that which covers itself with the cloak of a Socialist and Communist label.

ANARCHIST'S ROLE IN SPAIN'S PRESENT STRUGGLE

Throughout the anarchist press of the world there is now going on a discussion as to the role of the Anarchists in Spain in the struggle that they find themselves face to face wth it ever since the mercenary Franco inaugurated his counter-revolution against the people.

A year ago, when MAN! took a critical position toward the compromising stand that the Spanish Anarchists embarked upon by their entrance into the Valencia and Barcelona governments, the "Vanguard," organ of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, attacked us as "revolutionists" of the "ivory tower" variety.

Today, the same "Vanguard" (August issue) proclaims: **"And if any weakening of the anarchist position is to be feared, it will come rather as a result of the uncritical attitude which tends to justify and accept every move made by the Anarchists of Spain on the ground that such move was undertaken in response to some urgent reality."**

The disillusion in the camp of the anarcho-syndicalists and within all those anarchist groupings that hastily condoned in the indefensible compromise of joining a governmet is pathetic indeed. In some instances epithets of "treachery" and "deceit" are hurled at the Spanish Anarchists. Such has ever been the sad result where a lack of clarity in understanding fundamental principles prevails.

The critical essay that we reprint from our French contemporary, "L'Espana Nouvelle,' does not suffer from blind partisanship or malignity. Coming, as it does, from one who participated in the very struggle itself, it deserves the serious attention of all. MAN! does not subscribe to everything the study elucidates upon. It only prints it as a contribution that can aid in clarifying the issues that are involved in the present struggle of Spain.—Editor.

Self-criticism by one of the younger generation of Anarchists who has campaigned in Spain since 1936.

Our Initial Mistake

What were our mistakes?

The May day's events have proven our strength. Although they have led us to a great defeat they have demonstrated that we can win. Still, though defeated we are neither dispersed nor crushed. We are defeated by our lack of daring, our illusions and divisions, and above all by our own ideological confusion. Consequently if we wish to win we must revise our ideology. But first of all we must closely scrutinize our mistakes.

The parliamentary type of Committee should be dropped. Had we been more active and vigilant our fate would not have been placed in the hands of bosses who have climbed above our grip and who continually decide everything for us, without us, and who treat as disturbers those at the base whose initiative saved the revolutionary conquests.

From where have those bosses gotten their excessive authority?

I believe it originated from the false principle applied at the start in the nomination of committees, councils and popular representations. We have conceived the latter as the exponents of all political and syndicalist colors without bothering about their individual worthiness and competence and also without taking into account the masses' revolutionary power. It has been admitted that every citizen owed obedience to the committee from the minute a member of their party or syndicate had been nominated to such committee. Such a method is nothing else than bourgeois parliamentarism—coalitions without principles, combinations to carry out unpopular policies. It favors a crowd of petty country climbers and representatives of phantom organizations who have been put on an equal footing with the delegates of powerful working masses. Thus they have become the bosses of self-interested cliques around which counter-revolutionaries organize their resistance. And after having been like valets to whom a single tip of consideration and underserved authority has been conceded, these men speak like masters.

How could this danger be avoided? First of all it was wrong to permit organizations to nominate committeemen at random. What should have been done was to call popular workers' meetings according to locality and vocation, and to place the social problems for discussion before the masses without giving distinction to any organized body. To constitute the committees with revolutionary comrades best designated by their competence, faithfulness to the workers' interests, and regularity and vigilance in the performance of practical tasks. These delegates to serve until recalled by the assembly which designated them. In this way, instead of permitting the bourgeois politicians to stabilize themselves and take advantage of the workers' division, we would have marched towards the total liquidation of politics, brought about administrative control by producers and consumers, and accomplish much towards organizing the working population for its self-defense.

Evidently such a system would have conflicted with the one of public power previously constituted, with the Madrid government, the Catalonian Generality, and the provincial and cantonal authorities. Well, in that case we should have based our principles upon the preeminence of real collectivity, and not on the political and administrative delegations not directly popular.

In case of contrary decisions by the regional and local entreaties, for example, the decision of the local body would prevail over that of the regional body. If the latter is mistaken, it is for them to recognize it and not impose their way of seeing things upon others.

Our Lack of Federalism

Under such a regime the Madrid and Barcelona governments would have been mere phantoms. Their orders would only have been carried out where the people found them to be satisfactory. And the governments themselves would have been subjugated to the rank of public advisers emitting decrees and laws whose application would have been optional to each workers' collectivity. The authorities would not have accepted such a role. But as the conflicts would have increased between the basic bodies and the old cantonal, regional and national State organizations, we would have seen the downfall of the constituted authority. The masses would have clearly seen that any government, even a democratic government is unable by its very nature, to materialize the wants of the people. Indeed, when the masses actively seek their object the government can only do one thing—get out of the way, in a word, disappear. Still, no government can be abolished in one day; it fades away in proportion to the growth of the real collectivities which assume control over all economic and social problems. It is well understood that this implies the preliminary disarmament of the army and police and the arming of the masses. And then, progressively, following the consequences of such action, the administration and institutions of the central power would wither and vanish away—men in authority would resign and give way to the institutions and administrations built up and controlled from the base.

"Will these new central, national, regional and cantonal organisms be all powerful in their domain of action?" Not in any way. We reject the Lenin theory of the Soviet system in "State and Revolution," precisely because it was never verified by facts and for the reason that the Soviet system of "proletarian dictatorship" automatically became a dictatorship over the proletariat.

"Well then, you maintain the principle of superiority of influence of the basic organisms' decisions (commune or syndicate) over those of the summit organisms' (regional, industrial) every time there is disagreement between the two?" Absolutely. "But in that case what will be the functions of the regional, federal and central bodies?" They will be thus: to devise an administrative system of defense and economics permitting co-ordination and harmony among the heterogeneous divisions at the base; to continually perfect and revise this system and to submit it periodically to the approval of the masses, giving them all the INFORMATION needed to enlighten their judgment.

"Thus, you are opposed to the proletarian dictatorship?" Surely, and for two reasons: first is that the proletariat by their very nature are unable to exercise a central power. The masses are not in the Ministry, but in the fields, factories, and at the fighting front. Those who exercise the central power can only do it in "their" name. The second reason is that the social revolution does not mean to replace one political domineering and exploiting class by another, but to abolish economic exploitation and political ruling in such a way that it WILL DO AWAY WITH THE PROLETARIAT as a governed and exploited class.

And so the two great illusions which led us to our defeat are the following: 1—To have believed in the posibility of a proletarian usefulness in the Ministry; and to have tried to rule the bourgeoise in the name of the proletariat. Now what should have been done was to suppress the bourgeoise in their role of administering society, and merely treat them as men in a new regime.

Our Lack of Revolutionary Psychology

Let us take, for instance, the attitude of the C.N.T. —F. A. I. or the P. O. U. M. towards the police. On July 19th the Guard of Assault had either been scared by the workers, bewitched by their courage, or had feared to be dismissed by the Fascists. They cheered the F. A. I. and took part against the army. And so, too, acted the Carabineers and Mozos d'Escuadra. What attitude were we supposed to take towards these "anti-fascist" police in view of their momentary rally, in spite of the bourgeois reaction they nevertheless represented? Well, there are only two ways to come to an end with a policeman: In certain circumstances, particularly where an individual has completely identified himself with his trade even to the total fossilization of his moral being, he should be disposed of. Or he may be offered work and freedom, provided he disowns his craft. In the last case the welcome to the new member of the workers' society ought to be as fraternal and generous as possible. I personally should like to teach the convert to consider his servile and fierce behavior as a watch-dog definitely buried. I should like to see him burn his uniform while sympathetically cheered by his comrades. And to see him find his place in the field, or in a workshop and actively engaged in some work that would give him a feeling of equality and comradship with the masses he formerly impugned.

Yet, instead of that, what have we done? We have permitted the Guards of Assault, the Carabineers, etc., to retain their craft, uniforms and arms. And we took so much pleasure in mortifying them and mocking their trade that their new position became intolerable in view of their honor as soldiers and officials. In so doing we brought about a revolt of elementary dignity (which is instinctive revolutionary feeling) and transformed them to wild enemies of the revolution, ready to crush it and revenge themselves upon the insulting masses.

The priest, the fascist, the officer, the general and the bourgeois all might be treated as the policemen. To keep them in a separate class or caste—even to make pariahs out of them—is a counter-revolutionary absurdity which sooner or later will strike back at the perpetrators. Surely, armed aggression and physical destruction of opponents are painful necessities imposed upon the revolution by the reaction. However, the revolution itself consists in converting men by the gradual change in circumstances and not by exterminating the "villains."

In general the July 1936 revolution has been superior to all others by virtue of its essentially economic character and its generosity in repressing political matter. It permitted the immediate rally of numerous elements whose property had been appropriated. Nevertheless, there has been too much confusion and lack of appreciation of economic rigidness and political generosity. On one hand we have treated as brothers many people who had neither parted with any of their privileges, and who, under hypocritical bearing, remained fierce enemies of the masses and revolution; while on the other hand we have so unskillfully persecuted the hesitating and unoffensive citizens.

Our Lack of Internationalism

One of our deepest regrets is the lack of international spirit. We have considered the July revolution as something which ended at the Pyrenees, the sea, and the front lines that separated us from the Fascists. We have neglected to see it as one episode in the world-wide fight among classes.

It is so that gradually we have allowed Franco and the Republican government to engage in a military campaign where our social revolutionary work has been extremely minimized and subordinated while generals, diplomats and manufacturers of war material have become the arbitrators of the situation.

The revolutionary action admits neither front nor frontiers. The fact is that during the first part of the armed fight there was no front. The military (Fascist) elements were composed of extensive groups in which were also included the nucleus of "anti-Fascist" resistance. There were neither territorial nor State divisions between Loyalists and Rebels, but merely a social barricade separating the privileged people from the masses. Our great mistake was to allow the fighting to follow the traditions of the Carlist wars which turned over he direction of the battle to military technicians not capable of thinking as social and international revolutionaries. And so the strikers, the people who had heroically and passively resisted, and all the proletarian elements that had been deceived by the government found themselves sacrificed.

It would have been possible, with the automobiles and trucks confiscated on July 19th, to have covered Spain with flying ranks of volunteers who would have fallen upon arms and ammunition and have transformed the passive resistance zones into armed fighting camps. Such was Durruti's first idea. But this conflicted with the optimism of the Catalonians, who preferred to use their toy machine guns, reckoning that everything would be won after three days of heroic fighting. Thus their optimism was resumed in "Manana! Manana!" (Too late! Too late!") "Tomorrow! Tomorrow!"

The fight would have gained in magnitude if the following plans had been instituted: The conquered parts of the country should have seen the institution of a socialized collectivism based upon libertarian-federalism. The war zones should have been made conscious of the social fight through widespread propaganda and fraternization. The "irreducible" territories should have been primed for an economic, political, and military disorganization of its opponents through the medium of strikes, sabotage, terrorism and guerrilla warfare under all possible ways. And finally, by carrying on intense revolutionary propaganda in foreign countries as the only possible guarantee against intervention.

The rustic ignorance of most of our newspaper editors about international matters led them to adopt, even before he revolution, the absurd scheme of Stalinian agitators who dwell upon the "good" and "bad" of capitalism. On one side was the Blum-Eden-Roosevelt-Stalin group; on the other side was Hitler and his Italo-Japanese accomplices! These editors succeeded in persuading the masses that a revolution could only be successful by flattering and reassuring the "good" capitalists and obtaining their support to fight the "bad" ones. It is so that on May fifth the masses suddenly halted in their enthusiastic outbreak of revolutionary triumph; that because they had been led to believe that the masses' victory would automatically carry with it the

(*Continued on page* 8)

ART AND LITERATURE

Part three: The Ku Klux Klan's Partners

(A Novelette in Three Parts)

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

My assignment was police run, but I also was held responsible for news from the Emergency hospital and from the city and county hospitals. Also the fire department. Naturally I was given assistants but I was held responsible for what happened. As time passed I had a considerable group of young reporters helping me, I had made the grade . . . at least I was not considered a cub reporter any longer. Perhaps I broke into the game rather quickly . . . maybe I was good maybe I got the breaks . . . anyway, I was a fighter and I liked to fight the klan, especially the kluxers who infested the various public service departments at the City Hall. My first information for a big story on corruption came soon after the Ku Klux Klan grabbed control of the Municipal Building.

I always had been a bit suspicious of Doc Grandstaff, superintendent of the Emergency Hospital, located adjoining the central police headquarters. His assistants were internes from the big medical college located in the city. I noticed that Doc Grand as the press called him never waited on a patient, always directing some interne to such tasks. Naturally patients did not remain at the Emergency Hospital long, being transferred as soon as possible to other larger hospitals. It occurred to me that something was wrong . . . Sob Sister Marie also got suspicious and we started an investigation.

Meanwhile one of the younger reporters working on the police run wrote a feature story about a great big fellow coming in from the East Texas piney woods and asking for a job as a policeman. The sergeant in charge of applications asked "What is your occupation?" The applicant innocently replied "I'm a doctor!" It seemed the Emergency hospital needed a doctor as some interne had left without notice, so the police sergeant said: "Well, its a break for you . . . they need you in the Emergency Hispital not in the police headquarters as a flat foot."

I followed up the story and found that Dr. Horace Andrews, who had practiced medicine for years in the deep swamps of East Texas, had gotten on the pay roll of the city as an Emergency doctor. I interviewed Doc Andrews and found him to be very cordial . . . "sure, I attended medical college one year . . . then took an examination at a county seat town in East Texas . . ."

"But I thought you had to go to college about six years to be a doctor in Texas?" I said.

"But I got my license to practice medicine BEFORE that law went into effect," Doc Andrews replied with a smile.

As the Klan took hold of the City Hall things moved rapidly. Within a month Doc Andrews was made Superintendent of Public Health of the City of Dallas! I knew Doc Andrew's rapid climb was due to the fact he was backed by powerful klan officials. Seems like the Doc had organized all the cross roads towns in the swamps for the klan. The grand wizard thought he should be rewarded!

Then a quarantine officer, a graduate of a medical college in Mexico, and a medical officer under Pancho Villa was named superintendent to the City Hospital, largest joint city and county institution in the county! The next day, Marie dug up a big story—going her usual route—straight to the woman in the case. Seems like Doc Grandstaff and his wife were having plenty of trouble and the wife in a fit of temper called Marie out to her residence and spilled the beans. Doc Grand was not even a medical doctor . . . he dropped off a circus train in Dallas a few months before. He had been employed for years as an elephant doctor by Ringling Brothers!

The Klan was riding . . . men in high places were grafting and Intolerance walked the highways of Texas.

One rainy evening I sat in the press room at police headquarters thinking . . . thinking . . . thinking. There was two Catholics left in the police department All police who were ranked as rookies and who were Catholics or Jews had been fired. The two Catholics who remained members of the Dallas Metropolitan Police Department were old timers and could not be fired only for cause. And worst of all, the public health department not only was in the hands of wizard appointed medicos, but so called "doctors" of the worst type. An elephant doctor was head of the Emergency Hospital, a medico who got his experience treating malaria in an East Texas swamp and whose ambition was to be a cop, was head of the Department of Public Health, and a vagrant doctor whose "professional credentials" were received "somewhere in Mexico", was head of the big city-county hospital. As I puffed away on a cigarette Marie Neall entered the press room. She also was smoking a cigarette. "Hello, Marie," I said, "What's happening? and say sister, I didn't know you were a Catholic and that's interesting stuff about you having been a nun or something . . .? disappointed in love . . .?"

"Don't be commonplace, you jackass," Maire snarled. "I ain't a Catholic . . . my mother was a blue stocking Presbyterian and my dad just did not take time out to worry about religion . . . he was too busy down at the railroad shops making a living for his family to go to church . . . I just took after my dad . . . guess religion is okeh. I believe in taking it or leaving it . . . anyway, I just gave the cops that line to show them I wasn't afraid to be a Catholic, alien or Jew . . . I am not afraid of that gang of Kluxers."

Then entered Jenny. She was looking better and apparently was well fixed from a standpoint of dope. She winked to me and I strolled down the hallway with her.

"Say, Dick, better be on your toes," she whispered. "The klan is riding tonight . . . whipping squad is taking out a guy named Freckle Jensen, accuses him of mistreating a girl . . . take Stuffy Gowens along. "But how did you know?" I asked Jenny. "Stuffy Gowens was in here a few minutes ago . . ."

"Did I ever give you a bum stear" Jenny asked. "I'm telling you right . . . I ought to know. I told the whipping squad where Freckle Jensen was hiding . . . I never did like that pimp. He used to count towels in a second story hotel where I stayed for a while. He chiseled on me and I vowed I'd get even . . . Yes, the whipping squad gave me a shot of dope and I gave them the lowdown where Freckle was hiding."

An hour later I was at the ramshackle hotel where Freckle roomed. The landlady asked. What paper are you with?"

I replied: "The Telegram."

"Get the hell outta here," she scoulded. "You ain't a 100 per cent American . . . nobody could be okeh and work for that jew-owned paper . . . we are all Americans around here."

I surveyed the landlady rather closely. She was fat and her voice was that muffled sort of a tone that indicated too much gin, vice and what have you. I knew her type . . . in younger years she might have been good to look upon. From the brothel she had gone, not the suicide route, as many of the girls went, but to an upstairs vice den of which she was matron.

As I was walking downstairs I heard loud voices and saw a car drive away. White robed men were in the car: On the sidewalk was Freckle Jensen, almost naked, badly beaten and tarred and feathered.

"Help . . . help . . . help : . ." Freckle was crying. "They whipped me . . . I'm dying . . ."

I first called the Chief and gave enough news for an extra. Then, I called the Emergency Hospital. Meanwhile the staff photographer was on the scene and we got plenty of pictures. Stuffy Gowens, never suspecting a TELEGRAM reporter would be on the "inside" . . . leisurely went to his office. A TELEGRAM extra telling him of what happened to Freckle Jensen greeted him as he entered the HERALD city room. I had gotten revenge in part at least.

The TELEGRAM fought almost single handed the Klu Klux Klan in northern Texas. Meanwhile, internal strife within the klan circles got to causing a lot of trouble. Marie and myself carefully prepared our story about the elephant doctor being superintendent of the Emergency Hospital and the power of the press was shown when an aroused citizenship demanded the resignation of "Doctor Grand." In the next article we gave a detailed story of how other departments were operated. The clean up at the Municipal building was under way. The hooded riders were headed for the Sunset trail.

* * *

It was a black, rainy evening in November.

In addition to other work, I was assigned to cover an election box in the tenderloin district. A president of the United States was being chosen. As election judges counted the votes, I stood in the slow drizzle, listened to a small radio in front of a Greek's cafe bring election returns.

A girl came along with the wink and the smile of a prostitute.

"Want to spend some money, honey?", she asked.

"Not tonight," I replied.

She was walking away when, merely as a joke, I asked: "Say, who are you backing for president . . . Hoover or Al Smith?"

"Say, bo," she snapped. "You don't think I'd vote for a damn Catholic do you . . . ?"

She walked away, a few feet down the sidewalk, entering an upstairs hotel. I lighted a cigarette and started thinking. The rain was falling . . . falling. I wasn't a Catholic, my mother having been a sturdy Cumberland Presbyterian from the mountains of Tennessee. My mother was a Methodist from down in East Texas. My father belonged to the Waterhouse brigade in the Confederate army during the Civil War days and was a Democrat until he died.

Yet bigotry was riding high along the roads of not only Texas but a Nation. Then, through the rain Stuffy Gowins came along. He was using a walking cane and wearing a derby hat.

"Howdy," he called in a friendly but arrogant tone. "Looks like the Klu Klux is stronger than Democracy . . ."

I was filled brimming full. That crack got my goat, and I let Stuffy have it square on the jaw . . . teeth or somewhere in the general direction of the face. As Stuffy hit the ground I said: "Listen, you damn Jew . . . you louse . . . you are the dirtiest scoundrel I've ever known. I'm printing your real name in to-morow's paper and I'm also using your picture."

"O, so you are going to betray a trust," Stuffy said as he brushed his clothes and straightened his hair. But how you gonna prove it? You've only got my word and I'll deny it."

"Say, Israel," I drawled. "When you coached the Beaumont high school team they called you Abe Goldstein . . . Marie and myself got our heads together after you told me that yarn and we went on a searching party. Some of our pawn boker friends seemed to know what you were doing and one of them squawked. We've got the yarn . . .!"

"Please, please, please," Gowins begged. "It will ruin me . . . I leave town tonight."

The TELEGRAM lost an election for the publication, supported Al Smith against Herbert Hoover. But the TELEGRAM got a real story. We carried Abe Goldstein alias Stuffy Gowin's picture on the front page. The story carried a two-line goudy italic 30 pint head, which is a good head on any story, and the make-up man broke it to the inside. When the TELEGRAM got on the street that night, Dallas Klansmen were terrorized. By the next day a few disgruntled Knights met in a downtown hotel and a break occurred. The Klan was nearing its end.

The telephone rang at police headquarters. The Chief was on the phone. "Say, Dick, what in the hell happened to that vice clean up?", he barked. "I thought I gave you instructions six months ago to see that things were put in order down there . . ."

"But I've been working the Klan assignment", I replied. Been working my guts out . . . keeping trail of those floggings and trying to stop Stuffy Gowens alias Abe Goldstein . . ."

"Well Abies left town and the klan seems to be wondering what it is all about," the Chief barked. He was in a fine fiddle . . .

About that time I heard the Chief say, apparently talking to someone who had entered the city room . . . "Why, you damn cut-throats . . ."

I dropped the receiver and raced to the TELEGRAM building. Marie jumped in a taxicab and we both went to see what had occurred. As we entered, the Chief drawled . . . "So you two bastards came up here to give me a flogging . . . well, first I am going to read you something out of the greatest book on earth . . ."

We entered, but paused at the door. The Chief was alone in the city room except Brazier, a cub reporter who sat, glued in amazement, to his desk. "The book is commonely known as the Bible," the Chief continued. "And it stays right here . . . dont move, you punk, this pistol was used by a guy once to kill himself and the captain of detectives gave it to me to use on such eggs as you . . . that was a long time ago when I was a police reporter myself . . ."

We observed that the Chief was holding a Bible in one hand and a six shooter in the other. He read: "The wages of sin is death." Two men robed in white . . . klansmen . . . were standing before the Chief. They had come to kidnap him, but the Chief was too quick on the draw.

"Now, Dick," the Chief said. "Get Jimmy, the photographer, hurry things up . . . we want to make the street edition of this."

"Now, gentlemen", the Chief said. "Just remove the hoods . . ."

The two hooded knights objected . . . started to get tough, but I never saw the Chief get any tougher. He drew that gun in a dangerous manner and said, "get those heads of yours exposed, or I'll start shooting."

And a moment later we saw the Chief of Police and Jim Brown, the sheriff. Their pictures, dressed in the white garments of the Klu Klux Klan, looked good on the front page. The underlines, under the Chief's byline, told of the attempted kidnaping. Meanwhile the Chief of Police and the Sheriff left very much in a flutter. They whispered low to each other. As they departed, the Chief drew his whisky bottle from his desk and drawled: "Have a drink, gentlemen." They declined and hurried away.

* * *

A year passed. The Klu Klux Klan was dead in Texas. Like a ghost of Reconstruction Days, this monster of bigotry rode high, wide and handsome for a few years in the Southland, then moved northland. It is history that Kansas and Indiana perhaps were the strongest Klan states in the Union in the years just before Al Smith made his race for presidency.

One evening in December I was seated in my room, reading a book about law enforcement.

The Chief had asked me to write a review of it for the book page. The telephone rang. It was Jenny. She talked with a nervous voice . . . something wrong.

"Dick," Jenny said. "I'm going west . . . when you hear the sound of the gun, you'l know I'm dead . . . but Dick, I kept my promise, I'm committing suicide on your time . . .!"

I heard the stiletto report of a revolver.

Away I raced to the cheap hotel from whence the telephone call had been received. Jenny had called from a telephone in the lobby of the flop-house, or rather the narrow hallway. Then, the dope driven-girl, a drag in the whirling cesspool of a crime-ridden-city, had passed on. The maggots of hate perhaps had eaten too long at her vitals. Anyway, she had kept her word . . . she had died on my time . . . I made my edition with the story of her death—not a big story. Just a few lines with a scare head, but it hit the front page on the night financial edition.

In the late evening I returned to my room. Marie was there. She was sobbing. That was unusual for Marie, for she was a very brave little lady indeed . . . and a lady to the core.

"What is the trouble, dear?" I questioned.

"You ought to know," she said reproachingly . . . it's the little one . . . my baby and yours . . . you ought to know?"

For a moment I was silent. Then I took Marie in my arms and walked away . . . toward a justice of the peace court. Within fifteen minutes she was my wife.

THE END

Now I more and more want to eliminate governments. They are today the true enemy of mankind. They imperil human liberty everywhere . . . The rise of vast states, the tremendous powers of the modern capitalistic system, the new speedy means of transportation, communication and propaganda bestowed upon our rulers—all make the menace of government far greater than was the menace of czars.—OSWALD GARRISON WILLARD.

LAW AND ORDER

Every form of human society, from the Greek city-states to our modern democracies and autocracies, rides upon its gilded chariot of 'law and order.' Every chosen or self-anointed ruler takes pride in the fact that the laws which he has sworn to uphold and defend serve to protect and safeguard his subjects from lawlessness, and that order is maintained to preserve the integrity of his citizenry from possible chaos and disorder.

Under this deceptive belief the rulers of human society have ever exerted their authoritative rulership over mankind with astonishing effect. The ruled masses never questioned the right of their rulers to preserve law and order for fear lest the wolves be let loose upon them should the opposite take place. All criminal terrorism which mankind has had to endure under such rulership is accepted by law-abiding citizenries without protest or opposition simply because it is being executed in the name of law and order.

An example of this sort of devout servitude to the guiding forces of law and order may be gathered from an editorial comment which appeared in one of the leading capitalist papers on Japan's invasion of China. Here is an imperialistic state which for many years has been ravaging the peaceful inhabitants of that Far Eastern country. Right now Japan is engaged in murdering with her bombs and bayonets the people of suffering China. This is nothing new, of course. To club peoples to death or submission has always been the business of governments. But here is how brutality of the sort is sanctioned by the holders of law and order. Says the editorial:

". . . . While the Japanese may be said on the one hand, to provoke these Shanghai gestures, they usually also, on the other hand, contribute heavily to the restoration of law and order."(Philadelphia Evening Ledger, Aug. 14th.)

Bombshells are zoming over the Shanghai area, blazing flames are enveloping a scampering 3,500,000 population: mothers fleeing with their children are caught in a holocaust of fire and steel; thousands noncombatants are waylaid by deadly fire and explosives; a whole country is being devastated by a ruthless, well-organized and well-equipped oligarchy that wants to force her dominance upon a helpless nation, and all this bloody carnival finds its sanction in editorial comment because it is being committed under strict discipline and by an organized government that strives to establish her own patterned law and order in Chinese territory.

By the same token Mussolini expedited his butchers into Ethiopia to club a nation into submission.

By the same token Hitler and Mussolini let loose their mercenary hordes on the people of Spain.

By the same token the sheriffs of Chicago shot down in cold blood the strikers of the steel industry.

By the same token civil liberties are violated in industrial North as well as in plantations of the South.

Law and Order must prevail.

Very often an intelligent mind grows a bit skeptical about all this law and order business. Very often a dubious question enters one's mind to inquire: why in the name of common sense is a hold-up man who murders his victim in an act of robbery given the electric chair—or its equivalent, the noose—while a police officer can freely shoot down a striker and does not even have to go through the formality of a trial? Why does society condemn a man when caught raping a woman and remain utterly indifferent to the rapings of thousands of women by an invading army? Why is a thief sent to jail for stealing some property that does not legally belong to him while bankers and brokers who manipulate the savings of their clients are treated as reputable members of society?

Here we have before us a curious situation: Hitler and Mussolini have invaded Spain; aside from striving to implant their dictatorial power in the Spanish peninsula, it is a well known fact that they fell on the people of Spain with the explicit purpose in their criminal minds to ravage and plunder the country's mining products, yet the world as a whole, while it may sympathize with the plight of unfortunate Spain, it will not brand the two fiends as an insidious pair of outlaws.

who deserve to be kept isolated in an iron cage—where they really belong.

And we see Japan pouncing on China with all the armed forces under her command, with the sole intention of exploiting the rice markets of her Northern provinces, yet no one will be treating the Mikado and his samurais as outlaws of society who should at least receive the same punishment given a common ordinary thief.

Should not such overt acts committed by organized governments be looked upon as banditry of the rankest kind?

So it should: but in this perverted system of ours in which the function of society hinges entirely on statute books all acts of violence, if decreed by authority, are accepted merely as a game pursued by governmental policy which ordinary men are not licensed to question. The constitutionally minded believe in the fundamental objective of government by law and will accede to every vile act sponsored by legislation.

That "the king can do no wrong" has traditionally been ingrained in them.

We know, of course, that this organized banditry is being executed by forces too powerful to combat, to say nothing of bringing them to justice, but we are not discussing it from that angle. That "might is right" has long since been recognized to be the life-line of states and nations. In a moral sense, though, society's acceptance of this legal institution as a guarantee of safety shows well how human conscience has been depraved by the age-old devotion to iron-clad laws and ediets.

But the strangest paradox of it all, reflecting upon the common intelligence of mankind, accounts itself in this: While orderly society—any form of society based on the philosophy of law and order—has from time immemorial taken the heaviest toll in human life, has spread havoc and destruction among peoples and nations, has harbored wholesale murder and pillage, has pursued a policy of social discrimination, has breeded chaos and disorder in the economic and political life of its constituents and has impeded all attemps of humanizing progress—this society becomes horror stricken at the mere mention of Anarchism. Notwithstanding all efforts by its exponents to reveal and explain that Anarchism is a social philosophy that teaches mankind how they could arrange their mode of life through a system of free and voluntary co-operation, not to depend on statute books to goven their life for them they shudder at the thought of living in a society which foretells chaos and disorder if no official power is invested in it. Of all the vicious dogmas that have at various times been preached by unscrupulous mountenbanks and charlatans, many of which were accepted and served with devotional fanaticism, the teaching of a philosophy that aims to liberate mankind from the pangs of brutal laws and edicts is shunned away as a dangerous threat to society and its institutions.

This is dangerous. A human race that has been arrogantly abused and mistreated under a whip of manmade laws should be so devoid of sense as to fear a change in social structure! A human race that has been enslaved mentally and physically under a system of legal process should be unwilling to consider a social philosophy that advocates unlimited freedom for all.

Human nature, it seems, is hard to understand. No matter what terrible punishment a boxer will receive from his stronger opponent he would come in for more —unless he is knocked out for keeps. The most sensible and heroic thing for the weaker fighter to do under the circumstances would naturally be to run away, and thus avoid being a glutton for punishment; but no, he would rather choose being licked a thousand times than seek a way out of it. Likewise it applies to a multitude. No matter how they are being knocked about by this so-called orderly sytem of society they would rather suffer "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" than apply themselves rationally to a social order that seeks to inaugurate their own liberation.

Samuel Polinow

THE ROLE OF ANARCHISTS IN THE PRESENT STRUGGLE OF SPAIN

(*Continued from page* 6)

intervention of French troops. As if this problem of exterior capitalist intervention were not the A.B.C. of all revolutionary conceptions!

The internationalization of reaction has been swifter than the effects of the revolution for the reason that the responsible C.N.T. and FAI guides have treated international anarchists and the "Workers' International Association" as needy relatives. They believed they were insuring themselves against intervention by sacrificing the "W.I.A." to the "C.G.T." (French Confederation of Labor), anarcho-syndicalism to democracy, the paper "Antifascist Spain" to the "Barcelona Journal", propaganda to diplomacy. And now, after nine months of this policy they have seen the Franco-Russian imperialist democracies, including the "C.G.T.", ready to fire upon Catalonia with all their armaments if the Catalonian proletariat dared to accomplish their complete social freedom.

The non-conformist revolutionaries of France as well as those in other parts of the world who are fighting here neither ask for financial remuneration, honor nor confidential positions from Spain; they merely ask for moral encouragement to carry on in their own domain. Can we say that they have gotten it?

ANONYMOUS

(Translated from "L'Espagne Nouvelle" by Jules Scarceriaux.)

ON THE BLOCK

Our department received a flood of protests from readers of MAN! against Santa-Panta's short-sighted comment in the previous issue that the world is now enjoying peace and good will. Fortunately for him the greatest exponent of peace that ever lived came to his rescue. Listen you infidels what Benito Mussolini had to say on the matter: "Italy wants to preserve a concrete policy of peace."

Now what have you to say? Ha, ha, ha!

And another thing. Even Japan complains that nobody understands her "peaceful aims."

* * *

Attention POS of A.C.T.U.A., Mr. Hearst and the rest of you decent respectable people. Did you hear what President Roosevelt recently had to say? Well, he said no more and no less than that the country is being ruled by a "select class". Those are harsh words to come from a chief executive, aren't they? He is a dangerous radical and should immediately be deported to Slobodka where he came from.

C'mon now, draw up the resolutions.

* * *

"The Chinese are getting smart" is the comment of a lot of people these days on their resistance to Japanese invasion.

Who was the guy that said reason rules the world? Nuts to him!

* * *

Now that Santander has fallen to the Moors, Foreign legionairs and Italian fascists, Franco again will boast of a "Spanish" victory.

* * *

Junior: "Say, daddy, why does Uncle Sam send marines to Cina?

Father: "Wel, sonny, there is $150,000,000.00 worth of property which has to be protected."

Junior: "Gee, daddy, I didn't know the marines are so rich."

Father: "No, sonny, it's not their's; the property is owned by the stockholders of our big corporations."

Junior: "Then why don't they go to protect it?"

Father: "Well, 'tell it to the marines,' sonny" . .

* * *

A lesson in diplomacy:

Speak the truth if that pays well,
But if in doubt lie like hell.

* * *

Our research bureau of this department will spare no effort to find out just what in the world is an ambassador. We were prompted to set out on this scientific experiment because thousands of Chinese are being shot down daily by Japanese bullets and nobody seems greatly upset about it, but when it happened an ambassador was treated to one of those bullets the whole world became alarmed.

We are going to find out what this thing is if we have to vivisect a thousand guinea pigs.

* * *

Hey there, smarties, can you answer riddles? Well, see if you can answer this one.

Italian, German and Franco have sunk 20 British, Russian and Spanish (loyalist) ships.

British, Russia and Spain too have subs.

Why do they not call a sub-parley? . . .

* * *

In the Daily Worker (Sept. 6) a sentinel standing guard over Column Left, informs the readers who read Webb Miller's articles on the U.S.S.R. that the gentleman writes his stuff in a London offiee.

Man alive, do you have to tell us that? Who ever heard of anyone living in Moscow to tell the tale?

Santa-Panta

Sad is the sight of those who believe themselves to be revolutionists, vowing their deepest hatred to Anarchists—because the Anarchist's conception of liberty surpasses their own narrow and mean conception culled from State teaching. PETER KROPOTKIN.